

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L BRASILIA 4014

EO 11652 GDS
TAGS PGOV BR
SUBJECT: GOB SELECTS ARENA GUBERNATORIAL CANDIDATES (PART II)

REF: BRASILIA 3922

1. SUMMARY: PART 1 OF THIS MESSAGE (REFTEL) SUMMARIZED BY STATE THE LOCAL POLITICAL EFFECTS OF THE SELECTION BY THE GOB (I.E., PRESIDENT GEISEL AND PRESIDENT-DESIGNATE FIGUEIREDO) OF ARENA CANDIDATES FOR GOVERNOR IN ALL OF BRAZIL'S 22 STATES EXCEPT RIO DE JANEIRO AND PROVIDED BRIEF BIOGRAPHIC INFORMATION ON EACH NOMINEE. BECAUSE OF THE PRESIDENT'S APRIL 1977 CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION "PACKAGE", GOVERNORS THIS YEAR WILL BE ELECTED INDIRECTLY BY STATE ELECTORAL COLLEGES WHICH ARE DOMINATED BY ARENA IN EVERY STAE BUT RIO DE JANEIRO, RATHER THAN BY DIRECT POPULAR VOTE AS IN THE PAST. "NOMINATION" BY THE GOB IS THUS TANTAMOUNT TO ELECTION, ALTHOUGH

STATE CONVENTIONS IN EARLY JUNE WILL RUBBER STAMP THE SELECTIONS.
END SUMMARY.

2. AS WITH ALL GOVERNORS, UNDER THE APRIL 1977 "PACKAGE", ONE-THIRD OF THE SENATE WILL ALSO BE CHOSEN INDIRECTLY BY STATE ELECTORAL COLLEGES. THIS YEAR, ARENA WILL THUS MAINAIN A SENATE MAJORITY WITH WHAT THE PRESS CALLS "BIONIC "SENATORS AS WELL AS
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CONTROL 21 OF 22 GOVERNORSHIPS. THE FIRST TEN "BIONICS" AND TWO VICE GUBERNATORIAL CHOICES WERE SELCTED BY THE GOB ALONG WITH GUBERNATORIAL COICES; MOST HAVE BEEN STATE POLITICAL LEADERS CHOSEN LARGELY TO PLACATE ARENA FACTIONS WHOSE LEADER WAS NOT SELECTED FOR THE GOVERNORSHIP. SINCE THEN, TWO GUBERNATORIAL NOMINEES HAVE ANNOUNCED THEIR VICE GOVERNOR RUNNING MATES AND SIX ADDITIONAL BIONIC NOMINEES HAVE BEEN ANNOUNCED AT STATE LEVELS.

THIS BACKING OFF FROM VICE GOVERNOR AND "BIONIC" SENATORIAL SELECTIONS BY THE GOB WAS IN RECOGNITION OF THE FACT, EXPRESSED IMMEDIATELY AND VERY VOCALLY AT THE STATE AND NATIONAL LEVELS, THAT THE GUERNATORIAL NOMINEES WERE NOT WELL RECEIVED IN MANY STATES (AS REFTTEL INDICATES) AND THAT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN PARTY FACTIONS AND THE GOB ARE CONTINUING IN THOSE STATES.

3. THE ELECTIONS OF GOVERNORS, VICE GOVERNORS AND "BIONIC" SENATORS WILL BE HELD ON SEPTEMBER 1 IN THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLIES OF EACH STATE CAPITAL. THE ELECTORAL COLLEGES WILL CONSIST OF THE STATE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY AND DELEGATES FROM THE MUNICIPAL COUNCILS OF EACH MUNICIPALITY IN THE STATE. MUNICIPAL COUNCIL DELEGATES WILL BE CHOSEN FROM ARENA AND MDB TICKETS ON A BASIS OF NO LESS THAN TWO DELEGATES FOR EACH MUNICIPALITY OR ONE DELEGATE REPRESENTING THE MUNICIPALITY AS A WHOLE AND ONE ADDITIONAL DELEGATE FOR EVERY 200,000 INHABITANTS OF THE MUNICIPALITY. MUNIDIPAL COUNCIL DELEGATES WILL BE CHOSEN LOCALLY IN THE LAST HALF OF JULY. IN JUNE, POLITICAL PARTIES AT STATE CONVENTIONS OF DELEGATES PICKED BY LOCAL PARTY CAUCUSES WILL CHOOSE THEIR CANDIDATES FOR GOVERNOR, VICE GOVERNOR AND "BIONIC" SENATOR. IN SOME STATES, AND MOST IMPORTANT, IN SAO PAULO, THE POSSIBILITY EXISTS THAT ARENA FACTIONS UNHAPPY WITH GOB CHOICES MAY CONTEST THE PRESIDENTIAL NOOMINEE BY OFFERING OTHER CANDIDATES. ON SEPTEMBER 1, GOVERNORS AND VICE GOVERNORS WILL RUN TOGETHER ON ONE TICKET. THE ONE TICKET MUST OBTAIN AN ABSOLUTE MAJORITY OF THE VOTES OF THE STATE ELECTORAL COLLEGE FOR BOTH TO BE ELECTED. IF THAT DOES NOT OCCUR BY THE THIRD BALLOT, A SIMPLE CONFIDENTIAL

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MAJORITY WILL SUFFICE. THE SAME ELECTION RULES APPLY TO THE ELECTION OF THE "BIONIC" SENATORS BY THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE.

4. THE GOB'S SELECTION OF ITS GUBERNATORIAL AND BIONIC SENATORIAL NOMINEES WAS CHARACTERIZED BY THE HIGHLY CNETRALIZED DECISION-MAKING PROCESS THAT HAS SO FAR MARKED THE ENTIRE POLITICAL PROCESS THIS YEAR: THE PRESIDENT (IN SOME CASES WITH GENERAL FIGUEIREDO) HAS BEEN THE ULTIMATE, AND OFTEN THE SOLE, DETERMINANT OF POLITICAL ACTION. IN SELECTING GUBERNATORIAL NOMINEES, THE GOB DREW ON LOYAL ARENA DEPUTIES AND SENATORS (MANY WITH UDN ANTECEDENTS) FOR ELEVEN CANDIDATES. ALL OF THE CANDIDATES HAVE HAD EITHER CONGRESSIONAL OR STATE AND FEDERAL ADMINISTRATIVE EXPERIENCE SINCE THE 1964 REVOLUTION, AND CLOSE TIES AND LOYALTY TO THE REVOLUTION ITSELF. THE ONE EXCEPTION, DOCTOR LUCIDIO PORTELLA OF PIAUI, HAS BEEN THE POLITICAL ALTER EGO OF HIS BROTHER, SENATE LEADER PETRONIO PORTELLA, IN A STATE THE FAMILY HAS DOMINATED POLITICALLY FOR YEARS. FIVE CANDIDATES ARE UNDER OR CLOSE TO 40; THE OTHER 16 ARE WELL INTO THEIR 50'S AND 60'S AND REPRESENT A GENERATION OF POLITICIANS WHO HAVE BEEN ACTIVE IN BRAZILIAN POLITICS SINCE THE LATE 1940S.

5. A SUBSEQUENT MESSAGE WILL COMMENT ON THE IMPACT OF THE GUBERNATORIAL SELECTIONS, AND OF THE SELECTION PROCESS ITSELF, ON

ENSUING POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS.

JOHNSON

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